capitalists, worldly prosperity and riches are accumulated only by the comparatively few, while the many reap little or no personal profit or permanent prosperity from them. And, moreover, the rich are ever becoming richer, and the poor poorer, in a rapidly increasing ratio, the final result of which, if not timely checked, it is fearful to contemplate. That result, in fact, is a certain and complete separation or split of the community into two great elements of mortal strife, in which it is but too easy to see that the pent-up stream of misery and want will overflow its restricted limits, and overwhelm everything great, and rich, and noble.

It would be well, indeed, to take time by the forelock, and hastily to retrace our steps, could we but see our *practicable* way to the site, materials, and outlined scheme and specification of some more just and wide-spread diffusion of riches, or, at least, of competencies, as the basis of a system that would ultimately comprehend even the poorest outcast of the present period of unsatisfactory and dangerous extremes within the sunshine of an assured, contented, and serene prosperity. As for the elements, the materials, of so great and practical a good,—as said, we certainly cannot but see our way to these in the successful practical endeavours of really noble and manly natures to establish model institutions, not only for the physical, but for the educational and industrial improvement of the mass. Let us only extend the limits and purposes of this good work, as far as possible, with discretion and good sense, as well as system. Let us cautiously consider how these already crystallizing, organizing, elements of a practical and beneficial system, can best be extended and agglomerated into more or less complete, consistent, and self-supporting organisms of industry and happiness,—into model towns, in short, or joint-stock companies on the great scale, each comprehending, as far as possible, within and around its own respective precincts, everything requisite to the life and the enjoyment of the limited thousands or tens of thousands destined to share in its benefits, and to reside within its walls,—with not only a strict municipal army or organization of *manufacturing* industry, but also an *agricultural*, as indeed a main and essential branch of the manufacturing industry itself, inclusive.

The *idea* is by no means a *merely theoretical*, far less a *new* one. Nay, from facts authenticated in history, as in the case of the Cretans, according to Rollin,—the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, Cæsar, and Herder,—and the Peruvians and Mexicans, according to Robertson,—it would almost appear as if co-operative commonwealths, with great prosperity and enjoyment, were amongst the most anciently established facts in the history of the human race in its more civilized forms of ancient times. And even in modern experience it is well known that flourishing communities exist in America on the principle of co-operative association for the common weal. Authorities, ancient and modern, too, entitled to more or less respect, have recorded their favourable opinion of such a systematization of human efforts,—as witness, Minos, Lycurgus, Theseus, Plato, Moses, the Essenes (or pre-Christians), and the Apostles themselves; also in less ancient times, Sir Thomas More, Bishop Berkeley—to whom Pope attributed "every virtue under heaven," Condorcet, W. Godwin, Babbage, Mill—the historian of India and moral philosopher, with many others. And, indeed, what was it but this element of good in the fallacious and abominable doctrines of Owen and his Socialists that redeemed even them from contempt while they excited the horror of every well constituted mind, with bastard doctrines of communism and irreligion which Owen was but too anxious to veil and withdraw, when he found he had only succeeded in damning both his own previously high philanthropic character and the cause in which he was engaged?

But to our more immediate purpose, which is to give our readers some little idea of Mr. Buckingham's opinions on the subject of model-towns. We confess we opened his very interesting volume with some misgivings, that we might find in it much that would appear to be either impracticable or otherwise objectionable—not by any means from personal considerations as to the author—quite the contrary—but from knowing how the subject had been so almost inextricably entangled and interlarded by others with impracticabilities quite inconsistent with the nature of man as he at present exists; and more particularly as regards the evils of unmitigated *communism* contrasted with and apart from the benefits of *individual association*; but our mind was speedily re-assured on these points, and although we do not mean to bind ourselves down to the author's hopes or opinions, we do think his subject well handled, and worthy of wide-spread perusal and careful consideration.

Previous to the development of his plan, the author probes pretty deeply the evils to be remedied. These evils—the existing evils of society—he ranks under the heads of ignorance, intemperance, national prejudice, monopoly, war, competition, the helpless and hopeless condition of the unfortunate in every country in Europe, and the clashing of the interests of various classes and professions, such as those of law and medicine, with their duty to the community at large and their clients, patients, &c., in particular. These evils, all of them, he proposes by specific, and, as he conceives, practical measures, to remedy; and, with pardonable allusion to previous suggestions, he points attention to the fact that many of his own most cherished ideas, stigmatized while he was urging them as "visionary," as "very good in theory but not in practice," or even as altogether "absurd," have since been favourably received or finally realized.*

On his particular views as to the several specific remedies for prevalent evils we cannot at present enter, except so far as they may incidentally appear in what is to follow. In treating of the productive power of associated labour, he says—

"Surely what large landowners and large manufacturers effect for themselves by the labour of others, can be quite as easily effected by the labourers, under a proper organization, for their own benefit; and this is what a great number desire to see attempted at least, stimulated as they are by the sight of so many large establishments giving such enormous fortunes to their masters, out of the profits of *their* labour.

They perceive, for instance, the immense power to effect the greatest undertakings, conferred by co-operation or association, as in the case of railroads, insurance companies, mining associations, &c. The wealthiest man in England could not, of himself, and out of his own means, have constructed the Great Western Railway; but, by a union of capital, skill, and labour, in such proportions as to be readily remunerated for dividends and payments, the work was easy; and now the heaviest goods can be transported the longest distances in a short space of time, and at very trifling expense, compared with the enormous cost of conveying a bale of heavy goods on horse-back from London to Edinburgh, by several weeks' journey, which it required for a single horse, a few centuries ago.

In short, it is like the difference between carrying a cargo of 10,000 bales of cotton from India to England in one large ship of 2,000 tons burden, compared with the conveyance of the same bales, each in a single canoe, requiring 10,000 separate boats, and 200,000 men at least to navigate them—the latter showing the costliness of individual, and the other the economy of associated labour."

Government, he conceives, might do an immense deal to forward the right "organization of labour," and resolve the great problem of the age. Indeed, he points attention to the fact that Government is already well and practically initiated into all the essential principles of the *art*—if we may call it so.

"In nothing, perhaps, is the superiority of organization and association more powerfully seen than in the arrangements of the Post-office, where the greatest degree of dispatch, punctuality, economy, and productiveness are exhibited. By the power of organization and association of labour, 252 letters, at a penny each, can be carried for a guinea (the estimated average price of one, if sent by individual messengers), within the kingdom; and the proportion of difference is still greater in *foreign* letters, supposing them at present to average a shilling each; while such is the punctuality and precision with which all the operations of this great example of the 'Organization of Labour' in the General Post-office are carried on, that, no matter how obscure the individual to whom a letter is addressed, if its superscription be legible, and the person addressed be in existence, the letter is ultimately almost sure to find him out.

Notwithstanding the remarkable proofs of the power of both governments and individuals to establish the most perfect 'organization of labour' for certain purposes in which they perceive they have a clear benefit, yet, whenever this is proposed to be done for the purpose of forming an associated community, by which, under a proper union of agriculture and manufactures, and by a well-adjusted proportion between labour, skill, and capital, the unemployed labourers of the country are to be put in a position to maintain themselves, and even accumulate wealth by their labours,—the answer commonly is, 'that it is an impracticable scheme,' or 'a visionary or a utopian dream of an enthusiast.'

Yet the Government find no difficulty in organizing a fleet and an army, with such ease and in such perfection, that every movement of each is regulated at the Admiralty and the Horse Guards; and if you desire to obtain any information about any one individual in either of these vast bodies, you have only to apply to the Admiralty or the War-office, and they will give you his name, age, height, complexion, the color of his eyes, the peculiarities of his countenance, and tell you in what ship or what regiment he is, where stationed, in what company, what amount of pay is due to him, and every other particular. The Government can organise a large army of Custom-house and Excise officers, coast-guard, tax-gatherers, and police, with a discipline so perfect, that they will find out every man, and ascertain his income, and even his political opinions, if desired. They can organize labour to build useless ships of war and extravagant royal yachts, to kill oxen and hogs, prepare salt-beef and pork, and even bake biscuits in their own ovens, for the fleets at Plymouth and Portsmouth, besides making ropes, sails, and blocks by machinery, and every other thing needed for their naval arsenals. They can cast cannon and cannon-balls, bombs, and shells, make gunpowder and Congreve rockets, and store up at the Tower 100,000 stand of arms, muskets, bayonets, pistols, spears, and tomahawks, to shed the blood and take the lives of our enemies when needed. They can swear in nearly the whole male population of London as special constables, to resist an apprehended insurrection, and marshal every division in its most appropriate place, enrolling old men of seventy, and young boys of fifteen, for this purpose.

They can do all these things in the way of 'organization and association of labour,' but, alas, they *cannot* (as they say), or they *will* not, (which is perhaps nearer the truth), undertake any organization and association of labour, to employ the unemployed portion of the population, and place in their own hands the means of not merely earning their own livelihood, but adding largely to the health, wealth, morality, and happiness of the whole nation. The old proverb says truly, 'Where there's a will, there's a way;' and the absence of the *will*, seems, in this instance, the only solution of the problem, why the *way* has never yet been found, and why it is deemed, by the Government at least, to be beyond the power of discovery.

To remedy this defect, it is proposed, that the public at large, the source of most of our social and moral improvements, shall take the matter into their own hands, and see whether, by proper care and due guarantees for security, a company can be formed, to be called 'The Model-Town Association,' for the purpose of building an entirely new town, to combine within itself every advantage of beauty, security, healthfulness, and convenience, that the latest discoveries in architecture and science can confer upon it; and which should, at the same time, be peopled by an adequate number of inhabitants, with such due proportions between the agricultural and manufacturing classes, and between the possessors of capital, skill, and labour, as to produce, by the new combinations and discipline under which its code of rules and regulations might place the whole body, the highest degree of abundance in every necessary of life, and many luxuries, united with the lightest amount of labour and care, and the highest degree of health, contentment, morality, and enjoyment yet seen in any existing community established on the principles by which society is now generally regulated."

The first model town Mr. Buckingham proposes to call "Victoria," and he suggests that it might be built on the shores of the Solent and Southampton water, and within the New

* Amongst these he enumerates the abolition of slavery, advocated by him forty years since; the opening of the overland route to India by Egypt and Suez, pointed out by him in 1818; the abolition of the Suttee or burning of widows in India, and the colonization of that country, the abolition of the Company's commercial monopoly, and free trade with India and China, with various other suggestions made between 1810 and 1823, and on account of which he was actually banished from India without trial; also the suppression of duelling, insisted on in 1834; the promotion of temperance recommended in a Parliamentary committee, of which he was chairman, in 1834—long before Father Mathew's labours began; the introduction of a bill in 1833 to enable town councils to provide baths, museums, and other institutions, gardens, &c., for the public; the abolition of impressment in the navy, urged in 1834; the arbitration of national disputes, lectured on in 1837, and many other questions of interest and importance.

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